

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 193189

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 193189 SENT ACTION ALL NATO CAPITALS
INFO DUBLIN SEPTEMBER 28TH

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 193189

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNGA

SUBJ: MEETING BETWEEN SECRETARY AND DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER
ANDERSEN

1. SECRETARY MET FOR ONE HOUR AT U.S. MISSION SEPTEMBER 25 WITH
DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSEN.
2. ANDERSEN BEGAN BY MAKING PRESENTATION BASED ON WRITTEN NOTES
IN WHICH HE STATED THAT HE WAS MEETING WITH SECRETARY AS CHAIRMAN
OF FOREIGN POLICY COOPERATION BETWEEN EC NINE COUNTRIES. HE
STRESSED THAT COOPERATION TOOK PLACE WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF LUXEMBOURG
REPORT OF OCTOBER, 1970 AND NOTED THAT FOREIGN POLICY COOPERATION
IS PURELY INTERGOVERNMENTAL AS DISTINCT FROM EC COOPERATION ON
ECONOMIC MATTERS WHICH IS BASED ON TREATY OF ROME AND IS SUPRA-
NATIONAL IN NATURE. ANDERSEN SPOKE OF COMMUNITY'S EARLY INTEREST
IN QUESTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND EC WHICH HAD BEEN FURTHER
SECRET

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STIMULATED BY SECRETARY'S SPEECH ON "YEAR OF EUROPE". ACKNOWL-
EDGING THAT EC HAD TAKEN SOME TME TO RESPOND TO US SUGGESTIONS,
ANDERSEN SAID EC HAD TRIED TO ACHIEVE SITUATION IN WHICH EUROPE
AND US COULD HOLD DISCUSSIONS ON BASIS OF EQUALITY WITH AIM OF

ENCOURAGING CLOSE COOPERATION AND AVOID CONFRONTATION. ANDERSEN ALSO MENTIONED EC'S WORK IN ATTEMPTING TO DEFINE EUROPEAN IDENTITY. HE THEN REFERRED TO EC DRAFT DECLARATION WHICH COULD BE ISSUED JOINTLY AFTER MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT AND EC NINE AND SAID HE WAS PRESENT TO HEAR SECRETARY'S COMMENTS ON THIS DRAFT AND SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN NINE AND PRESIDENT NIXON. ANDERSEN NOTED THAT DEFENSE MATTERS WERE NOT INCLUDED IN EC DRAFT AND THAT SUCH MATTERS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN PROPOSED NATO DECLARATION WHICH, IN DANISH VIEW, SHOULD GIVE CENTRAL PLACE TO REAFFIRMATION OF SOLIDARITY OF ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. ANDERSEN ADDED THAT HIS OWN GOVERNMENT HAS STRESSED THAT DEFENSE MATTERS SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE DEALT WITH IN NATO BECAUSE OF PARTICIPATION OF US AND CANADA. THIS WAS BASED FIRST ON FACT THAT DEFENSE OF EUROPE IS NOT CREDIBLE WITHOUT US MILITARY PRESENCE -- WHICH IS ALSO IN INTEREST OF US -- AND, SECONDLY, THAT EUROPE AND US DEFEND SAME FUNDAMENTAL VALUES. ANDERSEN HAD NO DOUBT THAT ALL OF NINE FULLY SHARED THESE CONSIDERATIONS. ANDERSEN CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT IN DELIBERATIONS AMONG THE NINE, THEY HAD CONSISTENTLY TRIED TO PUT SUBSTANCE BEFORE PROCEDURE.

3. SECRETARY REPLIED THAT HE APPRECIATED SPIRIT OF ANDERSEN'S PRESENTATION AND THAT HE RECOGNIZED FACT THAT EUROPE IS SPEAKING FOR FIRST TIME WITH ONE VOICE IN HISTORICAL EVENT IN THE POLITICAL FIELD. CONTINUING, SECRETARY SAID THAT PRESENT SITUATION IS A NEW AND IN SOME WAYS EXTRAORDINARY PHENOMENON. WE WELCOME THE FACT THAT EUROPE IS SPEAKING WITH ONE VOICE BUT WE QUESTION THE PROCEDURE. WE HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED FROM PREPARATION OF THIS POSITION AND NOW WE ARE ASKED TO DEAL WITH A REPRESENTATIVE WHO IS NOT EMPOWERED TO NEGOTIATE. THUS, WE CAN TALK WITH A PERSON WHO IS NOT QUALIFIED TO NEGOTIATE BUT WE CANNOT TALK WITH THOSE WHO CAN NEGOTIATE. SECRETARY FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN A COMMON EUROPEAN POSITION, WHICH WE WELCOMED AND THE WAY IN WHICH WE NEGOTIATE. HE RECALLED THAT WE HAVE HAD NO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH EUROPEANS SINCE MID-JULY AND NOW FULL TEXT OF THEIR DRAFT HAS BEEN PUBLISHED IN NEW YORK TIMES. THIS CONTRIBUTES TO IDEA THAT WE ARE IN SOME KIND OF PUBLIC CONFRONTATION.

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4. SECRETARY SAID THAT EUROPE SHOULD MAKE DISTINCTION BETWEEN WHAT IS IMPORTANT FOR EUROPE AND WHAT IS IMPORTANT FOR TRANSATLANTIC UNITY. THE FIRST CONSIDERATION OF COURSE IS OF HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE. AT SAME TIME, FOR US, THE CONTENT OF PROPOSED DECLARATION IS ALSO VERY IMPORTANT. IN FACT, IT APPEARS THAT THERE IS NOTHING IN EC DRAFT WHICH WAS NOT IN EUROPEAN SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE OR IN TOKYO DECLARATION. IT APPEARS TO BE GRAB-BAG DOCUMENT AND, MOREOVER, SAYS NOTHING ABOUT TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS.

5. SECRETARY SAID WE DO NOT NECESSARILY DISAGREE WITH WHAT IS IN DOCUMENT, BUT IT IS NOT WHAT WE HAD IN MIND. WE STARTED THIS EFFORT IN ORDER TO RE-EMPHASIZE ATLANTIC TIES. MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE ALLIANCE WAS FORMED. FIRST, MANY

CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE INTERNATIONALLY, IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS IN ALL OF OUR COUNTRIES, AND IN RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION; THE MILITARY THREAT ALONE NO LONGER SUFFICES TO DEFINE THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP; SECOND, AS WE MOVE TOWARD DETENTE, SUSPICIONS BETWEEN ALLIES DEVELOP AND, ALSO, THE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN ALLIES AND ADVERSARIES TEND TO BECOME ERODED; THIRD, THE GENERATION WHICH FORMED THE ALLIANCE IS FADING FROM OFFICE; THE NEW GENERATION MUST BE PROVIDED WITH A NEW DEFINITION OF THE RELATIONSHIP. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT, IN THIS SECOND AND FINAL TERM OF THE PRESIDENT, THE ADMINISTRATION SEES AN OPPORTUNITY FOR RE-ESTABLISHING AND RE-DEFINING THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP.

6. IF THE EFFORT IS TO BE SUCCESSFUL, THE SECRETARY SAID, IT SHOULD MEET TWO REQUIREMENTS:

ONE, IT SHOULD BE OF SUBSTANTIVE SIGNIFICANCE AND PROVIDE A FRAMEWORK ON WHICH WE CAN BUILD;

TWO, IT MUST BE THE RESULT OF COLLABORATIVE PROCEDURES WORKED OUT TOGETHER IN RECOGNITION THAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO SOMETHING WHICH HAS HISTORIC MERIT.

7. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE EC DRAFT IS A GOOD REAFFIRMATION OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY, AND WE RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF EUROPE SPEAKING WITH ONE VOICE. HOWEVER, IF THE INTENT DOES NOT INCLUDE A STRONGER AFFIRMATION OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP THIS WILL TURN OUT TO BE MORE IMPORTANT FOR EUROPE THAN IT IS FOR US.

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THE DOCUMENT REALLY IS NOT CLOSE TO WHAT WE HAD IN MIND. IN ALL OF OUR COUNTRIES, THERE IS A TREND TOWARD SENTIMENTAL ESCAPISM. TO COUNTER THIS, WE HAVE WANTED TO GIVE A GENUINE IMPETUS TO ATLANTIC COOPERATION. THIS IS THE AMERICAN CHALLENGE, AND WE HAVE NOT HAD AN ANSWER AS YET.

8. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT TWO DECLARATIONS SEEM TO BE IN PROSPECT: ONE A US-EC DOCUMENT, AND THE OTHER A NATO DECLARATION. SO FAR AS PROCEDURE IS CONCERNED IN WORKING THESE OUT, WE SHOULD FIND A WAY TO AVOID AN ADVERSARY PROCESS. THIS IS LESS DIFFICULT WITH REGARD TO THE NATO CONSULTATIONS BUT IT IS MORE APPLICABLE TO THE EC DOCUMENT. SO FAR AS PROCEDURES FOR SIGNING THESE DOCUMENTS ARE CONCERNED, THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT THE EC APPARENTLY WOULD BE PREPARED TO HAVE A SIGNATURE CEREMONY INVOLVING THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER ACTING AS COUNCIL OF THE EC COUNCIL FOR A GIVEN PERIOD. WHILE IT IS HARD TO MAKE A JUDGEMENT ON SUCH MATTERS BEFORE WE SEE FINAL VERSIONS OF BOTH THE EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE EC SIGNING PROCEDURE COULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO US. HOWEVER, THE SECRETARY STATED, UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD THE PRESIDENT SIGN A NATO DECLARATION WITH OFFICIALS WHO WERE NOT AT HIS LEVEL. IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO EXPLAIN TO OUR CONGRESS AND OUR PEOPLE THAT HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN EUROPE DID NOT WISH TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES DIRECTLY WITH WHAT SHOULD BE

REGARDED AS A SOLEMN AND SIGNIFICANT DESCRIPTION OF THE FUTURE.

9. THERE ARE THREE WAYS OPEN TO US, THE SECRETARY SAID. WE CAN
GO ON AS AT PRESENT, WE CAN ABANDON THE WHOLE ATTEMPT, OR WE CAN
TRY TO ACCOMPLISH WHAT WE SET OUT TO DO. HE STRESSED THAT A KEY
ELEMENT IN WHOLE UNDERTAKING CONCERNS THE ATL
<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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